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As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*¹ of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

LAUANDOKO

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

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|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Nanduruvesi | { Nakanoru |
| 2. Mataivungalei | { Talikimamana |
| | Mbukanitunga |
| 3. Veikau | { Naseuvou |
| | { Vutuna |
| | { Takalai |

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

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|--------------|---------------|
| Nanggalitoka | { Valeiloma |
| | { Navai |
| Rakuta | { Ndakao |
| | { Nangzalia |
| | { Matanwai |
| Lomaitilou | { Lomaitilou |
| | { Nakambuta |
| Nggawaleka | { Tandulu |
| | { Mbatiniwai |
| | { Nanduruvesi |

¹[For definition of *tauvu*, see vol. II, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

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Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	{ Lomai
	{ Tiro
Malaka	{ Mataimalo
	{ Nakorolailai
	{ Naivisalala
Suthuve	{ Naivikatavio
	{ Natambuika
	{ Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tavvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	{ Nambulevu
	{ Nambulailai
	{ Nasea
Matakei	{ Matakei
	{ Ndralakaka
	{ Naiviloaloa
Mbete	{ Nauturoaroa
	{ Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tavvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tavvu* is Naitaumba because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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Narothake was always a small village. The foundation of the old site
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number ten or six. The *tavvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala
	{ Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

	{ Nandawa	Thenu	{ Namana
	{ Lomanikoro		{ Mbutukoro
Mbaumbunia	{ Nasuthu	Sau	{ Mbutoisau
	{ Natalenggitawa		{ Nakorolailai
	{ Namolutu		
Yawalevu	{ Nautuutu		
	{ Natavua		
	{ Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tavvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

RELATIONSHIP

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali*; Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

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and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

SOUTHERN ISLANDS

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

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canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

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Tui Ongea wiri kata:
Me kau saka i thama a latha.

The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

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In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

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The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

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Ono has a system of levy called *volongia*; if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

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As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

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Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

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Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kavovata*).

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Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatianitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

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Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

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The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

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The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Ahtu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

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Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Waingore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

The priest clan of Oneata is *tauru* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

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The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

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In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,^{*} whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama*; but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mzta, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

^{*} *Masi* *kei* *Natokalau* not *masi*, of; *masi* is never used in this expression.

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The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622 ●

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalaus is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645
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The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua*, that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganunga*, "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo*, which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa*, that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuvuvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia:

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Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73).

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The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult.

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am
here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may
speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald.
When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima,
and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana
hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him
it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken
away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make
a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu
nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant
in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces
Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The
herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia
of Mavana.

cross-cousins and *tawvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621 insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tawvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tawvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614 *veve*, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565 as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622 alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

- 622 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but *senien-man* would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

- 643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small counter gift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

THE VILLAGE

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and inter-island feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

THE ISLAND CHIEF

622 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.
554

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.
624

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
 226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
 335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

The son of the first *Lemaki* in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. *Lemaki* went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by *Lemaki*. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of *Lemaki* and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Leku (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*soropakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
 793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
 644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

[428
 184] Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen
 622 from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavofa clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

RANK WITHIN THE CLAN

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

MARRIAGE

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 545 543 747

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.³ 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622●

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*): On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui nara*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui nara* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui nara*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vusu*) of the late 643
574

³ For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, *String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia* (17, pp. 11-60).

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, [622] the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!

Move, move from there to here.
Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead [763] (*laua ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
 396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were
 constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the
 double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thoma*) was
 attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was con-
 [354]structed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
 the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block
 of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow,
 then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed
 when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or
eruevu) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was *tabu* for any person un-
 accompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the *tabu* was broken the
 offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner
 of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief,
 standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property
 consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself,
 to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft
 articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

● [622] On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
thamba, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A
 chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13
 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambe-*
tembete. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of
 the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1,
 pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

[731] An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
tembete double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just
 before the measles epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*,
 from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent
 his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and chil-
 dren remained on the island during the two years required to construct the
 canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was
 about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to
 Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women
 aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of
[384] *sikethi* (p. 89).

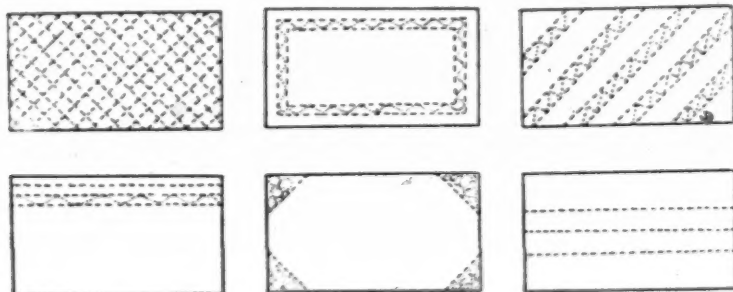


FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

● [622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth [622] around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces.¹⁸ These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by 648 European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village head- 622 man (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

[101] ¹⁸ The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

He is the head of the village assembly in which all important 622 ●
affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by 634
the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants
of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the
islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo,
and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kam-
bara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages
now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each
village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of
a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many
districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed
by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau.
He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a dis-
trict commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province
of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than
in the remainder of the colony, where the district commis-
sioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son 634
of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, 177
the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of
"sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting
tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted
of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in
New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people.
He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distin-
guished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji
to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has
made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This
adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a
European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs
and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in
close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated
according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same
time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had
558 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created
622 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was
178 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*,
according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has
756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly
[774] "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world.
[87] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows
554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing
622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

69

upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits¹⁵⁹
of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In⁵⁵⁴
every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a⁶²²
titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is
clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of
clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the
chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of
Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and
the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back,
whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a
common ancestor about ten generations back. [614]

The recently created political office of village headman plays⁶²²
an important part in village affairs. The village headman is
responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations
which provide for the communal performance of all activities
considered beneficial to the community. These activities
include gardening, village planning, house building and
sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and
the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive
duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies
to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men
of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were
executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the
village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was
acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia,
the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract
labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious
man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and
effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest
villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was
swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the⁶²²
old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a¹⁷⁷
sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

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778 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,²¹ and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

²¹ See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

197 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the
other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state
[622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells,
a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of
fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue
woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by
[554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank.
He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth
who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of
the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a
pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim
is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in
the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the
spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the
service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

197 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the
182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor
631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of
ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and
broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law
and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on
personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs.
The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the
natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their
chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their
aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing
them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social
system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in
applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be
considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor
of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly
held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs,
native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power
575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Maisu and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

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The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are ~~said~~ said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. There are five villages with a combined population of over 400.

The residence of the Buli is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula, at the S.W.

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7 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

[p.60]

A SOUTH SEA SYMPOSIUM

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a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group—so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no “wireless” on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, 115
the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 123

[361]
[622]

THE LAU ISLANDS

115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
 123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
 [361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
 [622] believed them. But being intelligent he was,
 at all events, able to tell a connected story, and
 also help me elicit one from others; and some of
 the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly,
 one night as we were seated on the beach with
 some of the local islanders round a little wood
 [276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
 [372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than
 for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the
 big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages.
 The air was still, yet the sound was but faint
 that came to us from over the great lagoon that
 stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had
 several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on
 calm days such as this it had seemed quite close,
 and certainly different from this faint sound,
 which now had ceased altogether. Some of the
 men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of
 no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night,
 and why else should the drum be sounded?"
 said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a
 curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]